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THE FAIRY-TALE ELEMENT IN THE BIBLE.

[CONCLUDED.]

THE LEGEND OF THE DELUGE.

WE now know enough about the sources of the story of the Deluge to form a definite opinion of the legendary character of the Biblical account and the nature of its tradition; it may serve us therefore as an example of those older Old Testament stories which were received from Babylonian sources. A recapitulation of the present state of text-exegesis will be instructive, and will enable us to form a judgment of the methods and modes of the Hebrew redactorship of ancient pagan myths.

Fragments in cuneiform characters of three different texts of the story of the flood have been discovered in Mesopotamia; and a fourth report is preserved by the Greek author Berosus. One of the cuneiform texts which has the advantage of being almost complete, was found by Prof. George Smith, in 1872, in the library of Asurbanipal. It forms an episode of the Babylonian national epic of Gilgamesh, the king of Erech. The hero suffering from a disease visits his ancestor Pār-napistim,¹ who is famous for his wisdom on which account he is called Atra-hasis,² that is "the very wise." Berosus calls him Xisuthros which would be in its original form Hasis-Atra.³ The old man has a very youthful appearance

¹ Also transcribed "Tsit-napishtim." ² Also transcribed "Atra-Khâsis."

³ Pār-napistim means "the Saved One," or "sprig of life"; Hasis-Atra is derived from *hasîsu*, to think, to comprehend, and *ataru*, excellent. It means he who excels in wisdom. Cf. Jensen, *Kosmol. der Babyl.*, p. 385 f., and Delitzsch, *Ass. Wörterb.*, pp. 249 and 285.

and being interrogated as to the reason, Pār-napistim tells the story of the flood. He relates that once the gods had decided to destroy the city of Surippak by a flood, but Ea the god of wisdom was anxious to preserve him the narrator, Pār-napistim. The god did not dare to betray the secrets of the council of the gods, and yet wanted to give his protégé a warning of the impending danger. The lord of wisdom found wise counsel. He appeared to Pār-napistim in the night in a dream, while he was sleeping in a reed hut, and addressing the reed hut, said :

" Reed hut, Reed hut	Wall, Wall,
Reed hut, listen,	Wall, perceive, ¹
O man from Surripak,	Son of Ubaratutu,
Pull down your house,	Build a ship,
Forsake your property,	Consider your life,
Leave behind all possessions,	Save your life."

The god gives directions concerning the details of the structure, and requests Pār-napistim to bring into its hold all kinds of seeds of living beings. "The very wise one," understands these suggestions of his god well, and acts accordingly. To obviate the suspicion of his fellow-citizens, he is advised to say that he would go down to the ocean to live with Ea, his master, because the god Bel was hostile to the god of the earth, and he would induce Bel to shower rich blessings upon the people. It took Pār-napistim seven days to build the ark, which measured one hundred and twenty cubits in height and one hundred and twenty in breadth, containing six stories, each with nine cross partitions. It was covered with tar inside and out. When it was finished, Pār-napistim carried all his belongings into the hold,—silver and gold and all kinds of seeds of living beings, his family, his servants, animals of the field, and also artificers of every description.

Berosus mentions also scriptures which contained reports about "the beginning, the middle, and the end of all things," saying that Xisuthros was requested to bury them for the sake of preserving them—a notice which is interesting because we frequently read allu-

¹ Jeremias translates *Gefilde* for "reed hut," and *Umhegung* for "wall." Zimmern translates "wind."

sions in Babylonian literature to the effect that science dates back to the time before the deluge.

When the moment for the deluge arrived, Pār-napistim himself entered, saying :

“ This day's break ¹ Was I afraid of.
 To see the daylight ¹ I shuddered ;
 I entered the ship, I locked its door ;
 To the governor of the ship, To Puzur-Bel, to the sailor,
 I confided the ark, Together with all its contents.
 As soon as the first Glow of dawn appeared,
 Rose from the horizon A black cloud.
 Rammân ² was thundering In the midst of it.
 Nebo and Marduk Were marching in front. — —
 Ninib came forth, Causing the storm to burst.
 The Anunnaki ³ Lifted up the torches,
 By their sheen They illuminated the land.
 Hadad's dust-whirl Rose to the sky,
 And the light of day Was changed into night. — — ”

Then the waters rose. They rose as in battle storm upon the people.

“ Not one saw His neighbor any longer.
 No longer were recognised The people from heaven above,
 The gods became afraid Of the deluge,
 They fled and rose up To Anu's heaven. ”

The terrors of the scene were too much even for the gods. They cowered down like dogs. Istar, though she had herself consented to it, murmured at the perdition of mankind. And even the Anunnaki joined her in her lamentation. The storm continued for six days and nights ; then it ceased.

“ I looked down upon the sea, and made my voice resound,
 But all the people had returned to earth again.—
 I opened the window, the light fell upon my cheek,

¹ L. W. King translates “ storm ” for “ day ” and “ daylight. ”

² Rammân is the storm-god, Nebo or Nabu (the son of Marduk, the king of the gods) is the protector of the priests, the promotor of the sciences and the mediator between the gods and men, the deity of revelation.

³ The Annunaki are the seven evil spirits of the Nether World.

I bowed down, I sat weeping,
 Over my cheek were flowing my tears,
 I looked down upon the world all was ocean ! ”

At last, the land began to reappear, and the vessel rested on Mount Nisir, or as Berossus has it, the Kordyaic Mountains.

“ When the seventh day came,
 I put out a dove and let her go.
 The dove flew hither and thither ;
 But there was no resting-place, and she came back.
 Then I put out a swallow and let her go ;
 The swallow flew hither and thither,
 But there was no resting-place, and she came back.
 Then I put out a raven and let her go,
 The raven flew, saw the waters decrease,
 She approached, cawing and croaking, but returned no more.”

Berosus follows another, perhaps an older, version of the legend. He also tells of the birds sent out by Xisuthros, but introduces the incident that the second time they returned with traces of clay on their feet.

Then Pār-napistim allowed his folks to leave the ark, and offered a sacrifice of strong frankincense to allure the gods.

“ The gods smelled the savour,
 The gods smelled the sweet savour,
 The gods crowded like flies round the sacrifice.”

Istar appeared and swore that Bel, the originator of the Deluge, should not partake of the sacrifice. At last Bel himself came and vented his anger, saying :

“ Who is there that has escaped with his life ?
 Not should have been saved a single man from perdition ! ”

The god Ninib suspected Ea and accused him of having effected the salvation of Pār-napistim.

“ Then opened Ea his mouth and spake,
 He said in answer to the hero Bel :
 ‘ Ho ! Thou wisest of the gods, thou hero !
 How foolish wast thou to produce a deluge !
 Upon the sinner visit his sin,

Upon the vicious visit his vice,
But show long-suffering and do not exterminate,
Have patience and do not destroy all!"

Ea suggested that he might punish sinners by sending lions and leopards, and by hunger and pestilence. But in a deluge all must perish. At last Ea confessed that he was the indirect cause of the man's salvation. But, says he :

Not have I revealed the council of the great gods!
To the very wise one I sent dreams, thus he heard of the council of the gods.

Bel is appeased, and is willing to do something for the saved man. Changing both to gods, he gives them a habitation at the mouth of the rivers.¹

Of the two other versions of the Babylonian Deluge-legend one agrees pretty closely, so far as the fragments allow us to form an opinion, with the one discovered in the library of Asurbanipal; while the third one, which purports to be written in the days of Ammizaguga, about 2200 B. C., differs considerably in details.²

The conclusion of the Babylonian Deluge-story is evidence that the hero was worshipped as a god, which indicates that the legend must originally have been a myth. In the mouth of later narrators the chief actor is represented as a struggling and suffering man who succeeds only by great circumspection and after much trouble. The fact that he was worshipped as a god was then explained to be the reward for his virtues.

The similarity between the Babylonian and the Hebrew account of the Flood is too great to be purely accidental, and there is to-day no theologian of scientific standing who would deny that the Hebrew version is not in some way derived from an ancient

¹ The text of these tablets has been translated by Schrader (in *K. A. T.*, page 55 et seq.), Jensen (in *Cosmologie der Babylonier*, p. 367 et seq.), Jeremias (in *Izdubar-Nimrod, Eine Alt-Babylonische Heldensage*, p. 32 et seq.), Zimmern (in Gunkel's *Schöpfung und Chaos*, p. 423 et seq.), Jensen (*Keilinschr. Bibliothek*, Vol. VI.). L. W. King, *Babylonian Religion and Mythology*, pp. 128-138.

² The text of this third Babylonian account of the Deluge is published by Scheil in *Recueil de travaux rel. à la phil. égypt. et assyr.* Vol. XX., page 55 et seq.

Babylonian myth, versions of which are preserved in the cuneiform tablets.¹

In both the Hebrew and the Babylonian accounts, the cause of the Flood is divine wrath, and the salvation of one family is secured by a special revelation. The building of the ark is ordered, though the coming of the Flood is not foretold. The ship is built in stories and caulked with asphalt; it has a door and windows. Not only the family of the one man saved is received in it, but also cattle and animals of the field. At last, the hero of the story himself enters; the door is closed. Then the Deluge comes and the ark floats. All men die. The ship is stranded on a mountain. The condition of the earth is learned by sending out birds. The hero takes off the roof—a fact mentioned by Berosus—and leaves the ark. Then a sacrifice is made, and the gods smell the sweet odor,—a literal agreement between the Hebrew and the Babylonian traditions. Finally, a promise is made to send no other flood.

It is also noteworthy that, according to Berosus, Xisuthros, like Noah, is expressly stated to be of the tenth generation, and that the place where the ark rests is Armenia, or, as the Bible has it, Mt. Ararat. With all these similarities, there is an enormous difference between the two forms of the legend. The Babylonian version is polytheistic and pagan, while the Hebrew account is monotheistic, changing all those features which are not reconcilable with a rigid monotheism.

Gunkel (Genesis, p. 66) says:

“How infinitely higher ranges the Hebrew legend than the Babylonian! Should we not take delight in having discovered a measure in this parallelism by which the peculiar loftiness of the idea of God in Israel can be gauged,—an idea which possesses sufficient power to purify and change that which is offensive and strange? The Babylonian legend is in a high degree barbarian, while the Hebrew is far more human. Certainly, we must consider in our judgment of the Hebrew legend that we have been acquainted with it from childhood; but this very fact drives home to us the truth that we owe far more to the Hebrews than to the Babylonians.

“On the other hand, what the Hebrew legend has gained in religious spirit, it

¹ For details on the Deluge-legends see Usener, *Sintflutsagen und andere Flutsagen*.

has lost in its poetical form. The Babylonian legend breathes a wild, grotesque, but nevertheless a fascinating poetry. The Hebrew version has surrendered the fiery mythological coloring, and has become simpler, poorer, and more prosaic."

The Old Testament contains, as was pointed out for the first time by Dr. Astruc, a French physician, two reports of the Deluge: One is the account of the Yahvist and the other of the Elohist, the latter belonging to the school of the Priestly Code, the two versions being throughout intermingled. We are told twice that God saw the wickedness of man (Genesis vi. 5, 6; and vi. 11, 12); that God foretells to Noah the destruction of man through a deluge (vi. 17 and vii. 4); that God orders him to enter the ark, and he enters it with his whole household (vi. 18; and vii. 1). He leads into the ark a number of animals, pure and impure (vi. 19, 20; and vii. 2, 3), in order to preserve their lives. Again, we are told twice that Noah actually enters the ark (vii. 7, 13); that the Flood comes (vii. 10 and vii. 11); that the waters increase, and the ark swims on the waters (vii. 17 and vii. 18); that all living souls die (vii. 21 and vii. 22). Twice the cessation of the Flood is stated (in viii. 2, in the beginning and the end of the verse). Twice Noah discovers that he can leave the ark (viii. 6-13; and viii. 15-16). And twice God promises no more to send a deluge (viii. 20-22; and ix. 8-17). In addition to the double record of the same events which is preserved in Genesis, the one with the name Yahveh and the other with the name Elohim, we observe some contradictions and discrepancies. Noah admits into the ark, according to Genesis vii. 19, 20, and vii. 15, 16, a pair of each animal species; but, according to vii. 2, seven pairs of the clean and two pairs of the unclean animals.

In chapter vii. 11, we have a mythological recollection of the Babylonian flood (the Tehom = Tiamat). We read that the fountains of the great deep were broken up and the windows of heaven were opened. The narrators here refer to the waters above and below the firmament as flowing together again. How much simpler

¹ The word Tehom תְּהוֹם in Hebrew never means ocean or lake; it is only used for the mythological flood which is divided into the waters above the firmament and underneath the earth.

is the report in vii. 12, where we read of a great rain lasting forty days. The same discrepancy is found in the manner in which the Flood ceases. Chapter viii. 2, first sentence, belongs to vii. 11; while the rest of the same verse, chapter vii., 2, belongs to chapter vii. 12. According to the former the waters above and below the firmament are stopped, according to the latter, the rain ceases. According to chapter viii. 6 to 12, Noah must use his own judgment in deciding whether he can leave the ark; while according to chapter viii. 16 he leaves the ark at God's command. There is one additional difference, namely, as to the way in which the time is determined. One source has an exact chronology, stating the year, month, and day (chapter vii. 5, 11, 13, 24; chapter viii. 3^b, 4, 5, 13^a, 14). The same exactness is shown in the calculation of the dimensions of the ark (vi. 15) and the height of the waters (vii. 20). The other report gives only approximate figures (chapter vii. 4, 10, 12; viii. 6, 10, 12). The numbers of the former report are by far higher than those of the latter.

Our freethinkers ridicule such things as the size of the ark and the lack of accommodation for the animals inside; but the Biblical account taxes the reader's patience very little in comparison with the original Chaldæan account. The story of Noah is nearer to probable truth than the tale of Pār-napistim. The latter was changed into the former because it had become incredible to the generation of the Hebrew redactor, and in retelling the story he rationalised it and produced a version of it that agreed with his standard of truth.

DELUGE-LEGENDS OF CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY.

There is no need of entering here more deeply into the kindred legends of other nations.¹ Suffice it to say that there are stories of deluges among almost all the civilised and uncivilised peoples of the earth; but their connexion with the Semitic legends is either doubtful or positively impossible. The Indian story, as related in the *Çatapatha Brahmana* I 8, 1-10, and in the *Matsyopakhyaṇa* (*Ma-*

¹ Cf. Richard Andree, *Die Flutsagen*, 1891.

habharata III, 187 2ff.), is different in its tendency; nor can the myth of Deucalion and of other Greek survivors of floods be regarded as having been derived from the Semitic story of the deluge. It may be conceded however that local legends of Asia Minor were in their later formations modified by the Jews of the Diaspora. At any rate, this must have been the case in Kelainai, a city of Phrygia, which was called kibotos or the ark, in the days of Augustus, and coins were struck by the city under the government of the emperors Septimus Severus, Macrinus, and Philippus, exhibiting on the reverse a memorial of the Deluge. The ark bears the inscription ΝΩε. There are two scenes represented: on the right side the ark floats on the waters and on the left the surviving couple steps on land with the gesture of adoration. One bird perches on the ark, while another carries a branch.



REVERSE OF BRONZE COIN OF
APAMEIA-KIBOTOS, PHRYGIA.¹

With relief pictures commemorating
the Deluge. (Royal Numismatic Col-
lection, Berlin.)



EROS ON THE DOLPHIN.
Relief of a Tarentine coin, Art
Museum of Bonn.

The Greek Deluge-stories differ considerably from the Semitic account. Hermann Usener explains the name Deucalion as the little Δεῦς or Ζεύς, i. e., the Zeus-child, and the variants of the legend, the story of Danaë with her baby Perseus and of Auge with

¹ Friedländer und Sallet, *Das königl. Münzkabinet*, IX., No. 885. The obverse shows the bust of the elder Philip with the inscription ΑΥΤ(οκρατωρ) Κ(αισαρ) ΙΟΥΛ(ιος) ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΑΥΓ(ουστος). The coin dates from the beginning of the third century of the Christian era. The inscription ΝΩΕ indicates Jewish influence; but the cognomen of the town "Kibotos=ark" which is established as having been in vogue at the time of Augustus by Strabo, Pliny, and Ptolemy, proves that the story of the Deluge was localised in pre-Christian times in that Phrygian city.

her baby Telephos, symbolise transmigrations of children of the sun, thrown in a box upon the water. The account of the Ogygian flood, localised in Attica and Bœotia, is so faded as to allow no definite conclusion. But the same idea reappears in the legend of Dionysos crossing the sea on a ship, of Apollo on his tripod flying over the ocean, and of Orpheus or Eros on the back of a fish, usually a dolphin. The significance being the passage of the soul over the waters of the deep to the Isles of the Blessed, or a reappear-



DIONYSOS SCUDDING OVER THE SEA.¹
(Gerhard, *Auserl. Vasenb.*, I., 49.)

ance to life from the realm of death. The ship, or ark, and in other versions, the fish, represents the same idea as the boat of Charon, and this is the reason why the early Christians cherished the ship and the fish so highly as sacred symbols. Christ is represented as a fish, and Christians are called the fishlets. The rise of the sun from the horizon of the sea offered itself as an appropriate

¹ The picture was broken in the middle, the rent crossing the sail and the face of Dionysos.

allegory of rebirth, or reappearance to life, and so the ship carrying life over the waters of death became the emblem of the Beyond or of immortality, and constituted a welcome ornament for graves and sarcophagi.

A most remarkable instance of a bronze ship carrying a number of animals was discovered by J. Falchi in 1886, in an ancient circular stone tomb in Vetulonia, Etruria, while a similar relic of



APOLLO ON THE TRIPOD, FLYING OVER THE OCEAN.

(Picture on a water-vessel in the Gregorian Museum of the Vatican.

Élite céramogr., II., pl. 6.)

cruder and less elaborate workmanship was exhumed in Sardinia. We reproduce here the bronze ship of the tomb of Vetulonia, the original of which is 0.22 metres long. The prow is the head of a stag, which is represented as being tied to the ship by a rope. Two small rodents, perhaps rats, are gnawing the rope, one from

above, the other from below. They may correspond to the black and white mice in the Indian parable of the man hanging on a branch in the well. Further we see a dog barking at a porcupine, quadrupeds of different description, perhaps a donkey or a calf eating hay, then a fowl, and in the centre a bull and a cow under a yoke. On the other side of the yoke we find a boar, a sow with little pigs, a ram, and a sheep, besides a few other unrecognisable creatures.

According to the opinions of Lösckke and Karos, two archæologists of authority, the tomb of Vetulonia belongs to the seventh century B. C. and bears the traces of Phœnician workmanship. This, however, does not necessarily imply that the relic must have



BRONZE SHIP FROM A GRAVE OF VETULONIA, ETRURIA, CARRYING ANIMALS AS IN A "NOAH'S ARK."¹

Probably of the seventh century B. C. (Museum of Florence.)

been imported from Phœnicia; it may have been manufactured in Etruria after a Phœnician pattern (*ib.*, p. 253). The find is rare but the fact that two objects of the same kind have been discovered, one in Sardinia and another in Italy, indicates that we are confronted with an ancient usage which was abandoned in the progress of time.²

¹ *Notice degli Scavi*, 1887, tav. XVII., 1, and *Milani Museo topografico dell' Etruria*, 1898, p. 30 ff. The animals are placed near the edge of the vessel and it is remarkable that this same arrangement is preserved in a Christian representation of Noah's ark on the sarcophagus of Treves. We have here an interesting instance of a Christian symbol which in the details of execution closely follows pagan models.

² For further details see Hermann Usener, *Die Sintfluthsagen*. Bonn, 1899.

The animals are placed upon the margin of the vessel's board and it is remarkable that this same arrangement is preserved in a Christian representation of Noah's ark on the sarcophagus of Treves. We have here an interesting instance of a Christian symbol which in the details of its execution closely follows pagan models.

FURTHER LEGENDS AND FAIRY-TALES.

In addition to the mythical notions of Leviathan and Behemoth, the ideas of the tree of life and of the tree of knowledge, and the creation of the world from chaos in seven days, there are other stories, showing the same tendency of rationalising redactorship,



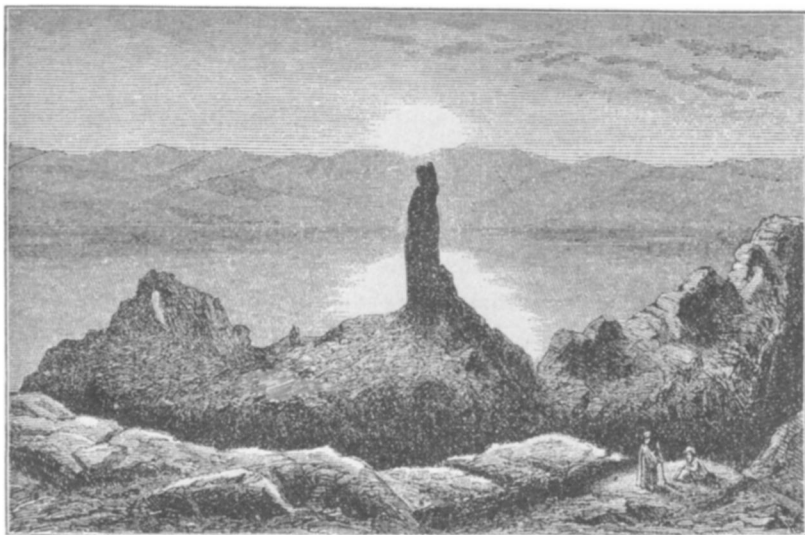
THE TREVES SARCOPHAGUS REPRESENTING NOAH IN THE ARK.
(After F. X. Kraus.)

viz., the legends of the destruction of impious cities by fire, the tower of Babel, the unfaithfulness of Potiphar's wife, etc. Everywhere the canonical authors exhibit a Puritanic hostility toward mythical features, which have been removed with ruthless rigor, generally with a total lack of sense for poetry and sometimes with a misunderstanding even of the original meaning of the various traditions.

The destruction of the impious cities has been localised in the region of the Dead Sea. A rock formation resembling the statue of a woman has given rise to the legend that it is the petrified wife of the survivor Lot, while the name of So'ar (סֹאֵר which means littleness), on the southern shore of the Dead Sea gave rise to the

idea that Lot had pleaded for it as being merely a So'ar, a little thing.

The Yahvist account is older and more unsophisticated; the Elohist version exhibits traces of computation and reflexion. The latter knows the Mosaic law (or rather Deuteronomy) and changes the primitive legend into an episode of the history of Israel by interpreting the divine promise not to send another deluge as a covenant, preliminary to God's more definite revelation to Abraham, which is destined to find its fulfilment in the Mosaic law.



THE PILLAR ON THE DEAD SEA CALLED LOT'S WIFE.

Of Sargon I., king of Agade, who, according to a tablet of King Nabonidus, lived 3754 B. C. and built a temple to Samas, Mr. E. A. Wallis Budge says in his *Babylonian Life and History*, p. 40:

"A curious legend is extant respecting this king, to the effect that he was born in a city on the banks of the Euphrates, that his mother conceived him in secret and brought him forth in a humble place; that she placed him in an ark of rushes and closed it with pitch; that she cast him upon the river in the water-tight ark; that the river carried him along; that he was rescued by a man called Akki, who brought him up to his own trade; and that from this position the goddess Istar made him king."

This story of Sargon is the prototype of the legend of Moses; but the latter account is rationalised and rendered probable; it is credible even to people to-day who believe that the world is governed by one God alone, and that all things are directed by his special providence.

As to the Assyrio-Babylonian origin of these legends there can be no doubt. The best authorities agree "that Chaldæa was the original home of these stories and that the Jews received them originally from the Babylonians." (Smith-Sayce, *The Chaldean Account of Genesis*, p. 312.)

The numerous illustrations that have been found on early Assyrian and Babylonian seals prove "that the legends were well known and formed part of the literature of the country before the second millennium B. C." (*Ib.*, p. 331.)

The story of David's dowry for King Saul's daughter Michal, as narrated in 1 Samuel xviii. 25-27, is apparently told of other heroes among those nations which practised circumcision. On Mr. Mourant Brock's authority, the same story was current in Egypt. He says:¹

"At Thebes, in the palace of Ramses, Medineet Haboo, built a century or so before David's time, you have a similar transaction painted on the wall, a vast picture, where is the scribe (notary) the 'full tale,' register, and all complete."

Of special interest is the legend of Solomon's judgment. The wise king adjusts the dispute of the two women who claim to be the mother of the same infant, by ordering the babe to be cut to pieces; but the passage in which the story is told is commonly attributed by critics to a later age, and in the form in which it stands in the Old Testament can scarcely be older than the third century before Christ. We know of a similar story in India, which appears to be an older version of the same tale. It is preserved in the Buddhist Jataka tales, where we are told that two women claiming to be the mother of the same child appeared in court, and Vishâkâ

¹ Mourant Brock, *The Cross: Heathen and Christian*. London: Seeley, Jackson & Halliday. 1880.

advised the minister of state, who acts as judge, to decide as follows:¹

"Speak to the two women thus: 'As we do not know to which of you two the boy belongs, let her who is the strongest take the boy.' When each of them has taken hold of one of the boy's hands, and he begins to cry out on account of the pain, the real mother will let go, being full of compassion for him, and knowing that if her child remains alive she will be able to see it again; but the other, who has no compassion for him, will not let go. Then beat her with a switch, and she will thereupon confess the truth of the whole matter."

So the minister ordered the two women to take hold of the child, each of one limb, and to pull with all their might, so as to divide it fairly between them. When one of the two claimants gave up her claim, for fear the child might be hurt, he interfered and



THE JUDGMENT OF BEKKHORIS, THE SOLOMON OF THE NILE.
(Fresco of Pompeii.)

decided the case in her favor. He argued that, having shown more consideration for the infant's welfare, she must be the true mother.

The interest of the story is still more increased by having been told of Bokkhoris, an Egyptian king of the eighth century B. C., and the event has been commemorated in a fresco on the walls of the city of Pompeii, where it was buried by the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius in the beginning of the Christian era, to be recovered only in the latter half of the eighteenth century. The picture is not very artistic; the heads and arms of the persons represented are quite out of proportion. The scene is not Egyptian but typi-

¹ *Kah Gyur*, translated by Schiefner and Ralston. Trübner's Oriental Series.

cally Roman, but its meaning cannot be misunderstood. It is one of the most interesting relics that have been brought to light from the ruins of buried cities.

The Egyptian name of the Solomon of the Nile is Bek-en-ranf, which form has been Hellenised into Bokkhoris. He is mentioned by Diodorus Siculus and Manetho,¹ and is one of the most popular kings in Egyptian folklore and fiction, having represented the Egyptian nation and led a successful rebellion against the Ethiopian invaders, throwing off the yoke of the great conqueror Piankhi, and maintaining himself, probably for six years, until Sabaco, King of Ethiopia, restored the supremacy of the Ethiopians, who at that time were much stronger than the Egyptians, and had the unfortunate rebel king burned alive. This tragic fate served only to endear him the more to the Egyptians, who describe him as "a remarkable personage, feeble in body and avaricious, but with a certain renown for wisdom and the author of laws which had the approval of his countrymen."²

JOSEPH, BATA, AND ATYS.

The story of Joseph and Potiphar is also a rationalised fairy-tale which was told on the Nile in another but similar version and is still preserved in a papyrus that dates back to the nineteenth dynasty. It is the tale of Anpu and Bata. That part of the story which is of special interest to Bible scholars reads in Prof. W. M. Flinders Petrie's translation as follows :

"Once there were two brethren, of one mother and one father ; Anpu was the name of the elder, and Bata was the name of the younger. Now, as for Anpu he had a house, and he had a wife. But his little brother was to him as it were a son he it was who made for him his clothes ; he it was who followed behind his oxen to the fields ; he it was who did the ploughing ; he it was who harvested the corn ; he it was who did for him all the matters that were in the field. Behold, his younger brother grew to be an excellent worker, there was not his equal in the whole land ; behold, the spirit of a god was in him.

¹ Diod. Sic., I., 79-94, and Manetho apud Syncell. Chronograph, p. 74 B.

² See Rawlinson, *History of Egypt*, II., p. 458.

"Now after this the younger brother followed his oxen in his daily manner ; and every evening he turned again to the house, laden with all the herbs of the field, with milk and with wood, and with all things of the field. And he put them down before his elder brother, who was sitting with his wife ; and he drank and ate, and he lay down in his stable with the cattle. And at the dawn of day he took bread which he had baked, and laid it before his elder brother ; and he took with him his bread to the field, and he drove his cattle to pasture in the fields. And as he walked behind his cattle, they said to him, ' Good is the herbage which is in that place ; ' " and he listened to all that they said, and he took them to the good place which they desired. And the cattle which were before him became exceeding excellent, and they multiplied greatly.

"Now at the time of ploughing his elder brother said unto him, ' Let us make ready for ourselves a goodly yoke of oxen for ploughing, for the land has come out from the water, it is fit for ploughing. Moreover, do thou come to the field with corn, for we will begin the ploughing in the morrow morning.' Thus said he to him ; and his younger brother did all things as his elder brother had spoken unto him to do them.

"And when the morn was come, they went to the fields with their things ; and their hearts were pleased exceedingly with their task in the beginning of their work. And it came to pass after this that as they were in the field they stopped for corn and he sent his younger brother, saying, ' Haste thou, bring to us corn from the farm.' And the younger brother found the wife of his elder brother, as she was sitting tiring her hair. He said to her, ' Get up, and give to me corn, that I may run to the field, for my elder brother hastened me ; do not delay.' She said to him, ' Go, open the bin, and thou shalt take to thyself according to thy will, that I may not drop my locks of hair while I dress them.'

"The youth went into the stable ; he took a large measure, for he desired to take much corn ; he loaded it with wheat and barley ; and he went out carrying it. She said to him, ' How much of the corn that is wanted, is that which is on thy shoulder ? ' He said to her, ' Three bushels of barley, and two of wheat, in all five ; these are what are upon my shoulder ; ' thus said he to her. And she conversed with him, saying, ' There is great strength in thee, for I see thy might every day.' And her heart knew him with the knowledge of youth. And she arose and came to him, and conversed with him, saying, ' Come to me, and it shall be well for thee, and I will make for thee beautiful garments.' Then the youth became like a panther of the south with fury at the evil speech which she had made to him ; and she feared greatly. And he spake unto her, saying, ' Behold thou art to me as a mother, thy husband is to me as a father, for he who is elder than I has brought me up. What is this wickedness that thou hast said to me ? Say it not to me again. For I will not tell it to any man, for I will not let it be uttered by the mouth of any man.' He lifted up his burden, and he went to the field and came to his elder brother ; and they took up their work, to labor at their task.

"Now afterward, at eventime, his elder brother was returning to his house ; and the younger brother was following after his oxen, and he loaded himself with all the things of the field ; and he brought his oxen before him, to make them lie down in their stable which was in the farm. And behold the wife of the elder brother was afraid for the words which she had said. She took a parcel of fat, she became like one who is evilly beaten, desiring to say to her husband, 'It is thy younger brother who has done this wrong.' Her husband returned in the even, as was his wont of every day ; he came unto his house ; he found his wife ill of violence ; she did not give him water upon his hands as he used to have, she did not make a light before him, his house was in darkness, and she was lying very sick. Her husband said to her, 'Who has spoken with thee ?' Behold she said, 'No one has spoken with me except thy younger brother. When he came to take for thee corn he found me sitting alone ; he said to me, "Come to me, tie up thy hair : " thus spoke he to me. I did not listen to him, but thus spake I to him : "Behold, am I not thy mother, is not thy elder brother to thee as a father ? " And he feared, and he beat me to stop me from making report to thee, and if thou lettest him live I shall die. Now behold he is coming in the evening ; and I complain of these wicked words, for he would have done this even in daylight.'

"And the elder brother became as a panther of the south ; he sharpened his knife : he took it in his hand ; he stood behind the door of his stable to slay his younger brother as he came in the evening to bring his cattle into the stable.

"Now the sun went down, and he loaded himself with herbs in his daily manner. He came, and his foremost cow entered the stable, and she said to her keeper, 'Behold thou thy elder brother standing before thee with his knife to slay thee ; flee from before him.' He heard what his first cow had said ; and the next entering, she also said likewise. He looked beneath the door of the stable ; he saw the feet of his elder brother ; he was standing behind the door, and his knife was in his hand. He cast down his load to the ground, and betook himself to flee swiftly ; and his elder brother pursued after him with his knife. Then the younger brother cried out unto Ra Harakhti, saying, 'My good Lord ! Thou art he who divides the evil from the good.' And Ra stood and heard all his cry ; and Ra made a wide water between him and his elder brother, and it was full of crocodiles ; and the one brother was on one bank, and the other on the other bank ; and the elder brother smote twice on his hands at not slaying him. Thus did he. And the younger brother called to the elder on the bank, saying, 'Stand still until the dawn of day ; and when Ra ariseth, I shall judge with thee before him, and He discerneth between the good and the evil. For I shall not be with thee any more for ever ; I shall not be in the place in which thou art ; I shall go to the valley of the acacia.' "

The story continues in fairy-tale fashion, reminding one of the German *Märchen* of the *Machandelbom* and other Grimm tales.

Bata is slain, but he revives successively in various forms. When one is destroyed, he reappears in another, as an accacia, a bull, and two perseæ trees. If the Hebrew versions of the story which were utilised by the Old Testament redactors contained any of incidents, we need not wonder that they who were in deadly earnest to obliterate all fairy-tale elements, would naturally omit or change all the rest of the Potiphar story.

Our interest in the ancient Egyptian fairy-tale of Bata will increase still more if it be true, as Prof. W. M. Flinders Petrie suggests, that Bata (or Vatu) is the Greek Atys which at an early period, when the digamma was still audible, was pronounced "Vatys." He says:

"In the myths of Phrygia we meet with Atys or Attis, of whom varying legends are told. Among these we glean that he was a shepherd, beautiful and chaste; that he fled from corruption; that he mutilated himself; lastly he died under a tree and afterwards was revived. All this is a duplicate of the story of Bata. And looking further, we see parallels to the three subsequent transformations. Drops of blood were shed from the Atys-priest; and Bata, in his first transformation as a bull, sprinkles two drops of blood by the doors of the palace. Again, Atys is identified with a tree, which was cut down and taken into a sanctuary; and Bata in his second transformation is a Perseæ tree which is cut down and used in building. Lastly, the mother of Atys is said to have been a virgin, who bore him from placing in her bosom a ripe almond or pomegranate; and in his third transformation Bata is born from a chip of a tree being swallowed by the princess. These resemblances in nearly all the main points are too close and continuous to be a mere chance, especially as such incidents are not found in any other Egyptian tale, nor in few—if any—other classical myths."

The tale of Bata (and thus also the story of Joseph) is obviously a humanised myth and must have undergone many changes before it was crystallised into that form which it received in the Old Testament.

WOMAN'S RIGHT AND POTIPHAR'S WIFE.

The story of Potiphar's wife reflects upon the position and prerogatives of women in ancient Egypt and indicates as the time of its composition a period in which the male element had at last succeeded in establishing a new code of rights, according to

which women's prehistoric privileges as to a free choice of their consorts was absolutely abolished. It will be instructive to refer, in this connexion, to another story, older than the tale of Anpu's wife, which still shows the more ancient condition of a state of matriarchy in the age of woman's rights which must have been firmly established in the earliest days of the dawn of Egyptian civilisation.

The Westcar papyrus, edited in photographic facsimile and translated into German by Erman, translated into French by Maspero, and into English by Petrie, contains the tale of the wife of Uba-ner, story-teller to the king. Pharaoh with his attendants was visiting Uba-ner, and the mistress of the house fell in love with one of the royal pages. "She sent her servant unto him with a present of a box full of garments." Having met the page, she directed her steward, the superintendent of the slaves, to make ready the lodge in the garden. "And she remained there, and rested, and drank with the page until the sun went down." The story then relates how Uba-ner takes his revenge on the page. Being a magician, he has a crocodile of wax thrown into the lake where the page was wont to bathe; the latter descended into the water, the wax crocodile was changed into a real one and devoured the unsuspecting youth.

Prof. Flinders Petrie adds the following explanation to his translation:¹

"To read the story aright, we must bear in mind the position of woman in ancient Egypt. If, in later ages, Islam has gone to the extreme of the man determining his own divorce at a word, in early times almost the opposite system prevailed. All property belonged to the woman; all that a man could earn, or inherit, was made over to his wife; and families always reckoned back further on the mother's side than the father's. As the changes in historical times have been in the direction of men's rights, it is very unlikely that this system of female predominance was invented or introduced, but rather that it descends from primitive times.

"In this tale we see, then, at the beginning of our knowledge of the country, the clashing of two different social systems. The reciter is strong for men's rights, he brings destruction on the wife, and never even gives her name, but always

¹*Egyptian Tales*, I., p. 48-50.

calls her merely "the wife of Uba-aner." But behind all this there is probably the remains of a very different system. The servant employed by the mistress seems to see nothing outrageous in her proceedings; and even the steward, who is on the master's side, waits a day or two before reporting matters. When we remember the supremacy in property and descent which women held in Egypt, and then read this tale, it seems that it belongs to the close of a social system like that of the Nairs, in which the lady makes her selection,—with variations from time to time. The incident of sending a present of clothing is curiously like the tale about a certain English envoy, whose proprieties were sadly ruffled in the Nair country, when a lady sent him a grand shawl with an intimation of her choice. The priestesses of Amen retained to the last this privilege of choice, as being under divine, and not human protection; but it seems to have become unseemly in late times."

Observe that the name of Potiphar's wife is as little mentioned as that of Uba-auer's wife. We read nothing in the Bible as to whether Potiphar's wife was ever punished for her breach of faith. Uba-auer's revenge was not taken openly but in secret, by magic; he does not even upbraid his wife for her conduct, and the narrator delights his hearers by the sly way in which the injured husband rids himself of a rival; while the satisfaction of the audience consisted less in the punishment of the page than in the disappointment of the faithless wife who never knew how she lost her lover.

That the institution of woman's rights was spread over almost all the nations of antiquity is proved by the reminiscences of this condition of things in all documents of ancient literature. In fairy-tales, a prince never inherits the kingdom of his father, but he who marries his daughter becomes the next king (perhaps we ought to say, "The Queen's husband or Prince consort"). Telemachus apparently has no right to the throne of Odysseus, but that suitor would become king whom Penelope received as her husband. She is surrounded by wooers, although she must have been over forty years old. Obviously they did not care for the woman, but for the property and power which she controlled. Odysseus apparently ruled the island solely on the strength of his being Penelope's husband, for we know that he had not inherited the throne from his father, who, according to Homer, was still alive when his famous son returned, and was leading the simple life of a husband-man in the country.

Shakespeare knows nothing of matriarchy, yet following some old tradition he shows that in Denmark the queen might dispose of the king and install some other man by making him her consort. According to modern views, Hamlet, the son of the late king, would be heir to the throne, but in the drama his rights are not even so much as mentioned.

There are Indian tribes in America among whom matriarchy is still to-day the established social law.

* * *

The original prototype of the story of Potiphar's wife, accordingly, must have been a religious myth, a peculiar version of the legend of Adonis. The myth changed into a fairy-tale and became a story told purely for the purpose of entertainment, and in this stage the new ideal of conjugal morality, established through the altered conditions of a period of man's rights and the abolition of woman's prerogative of a free choice, became now the leading motive of the tale, its lesson or moral; and this is the same in the Egyptian tale of Anpu's wicked wife and in the Biblical story of Joseph's chastity.

WORSHIP OF THE QUEEN OF HEAVEN.

Pagan beliefs possessed a greater fascination over the minds of the Hebrew than might appear from the general tenor of Hebrew literature. The redactors of the Bible spurned them and they incorporated into the canon the writings of those authors, psalmists, and prophets only who were possessed of the same rationalistic iconoclasm that was peculiarly their own. The constant relapses of Israel and Judah into idolatry prove, however, how powerful the pagan sentiment remained among the masses of the people in spite of several Jahvistic reforms which were instituted sometimes by deeply religious men, sometimes by unscrupulous fanatics.

We quote here from Jeremiah, chapter 44, passages which form a contemporary evidence of the worship of the Queen of Heaven among the Jews that fled to Egypt after the assassination of Gedaliah, the Babylonian viceroy. These men being conspirators against the foreign yoke must have been ardent patriots, and they

declare in unequivocal language that the Jews in Judæa including kings and princes had worshipped the Queen of Heaven. We read :

"Then all the men which knew that their wives had burned incense unto other gods, and all the women that stood by, a great multitude, even all the people that dwelt in the land of Egypt, in Pathros, answered Jeremiah, saying,

"As for the word that thou hast spoken unto us in the name of Yahveh, we will not hearken unto thee.

"But we will certainly do whatsoever thing goeth forth out of our own mouth, to burn incense unto the queen of heaven, and to pour out drink offerings unto her, as we have done, we, and our fathers, our kings, and our princes, in the cities of Judah, and in the streets of Jerusalem: for then had we plenty of victuals, and were well, and saw no evil.

"But since we left off to burn incense to the queen of heaven, and to pour out drink offerings unto her, we have wanted all things, and have been consumed by the sword and by the famine.

"And when we burned incense to the queen of heaven, and poured out drink offerings unto her, did we make her cakes to worship her, and pour out drink offerings unto her, without our men?

"Then Jeremiah said unto all the people, to the men, and to the women, and to all the people which had given him that answer, saying,

"The incense that ye burned in the cities of Judah, and in the streets of Jerusalem, ye, and your fathers, your kings, and your princes, and the people of the land, did not Yahveh remember them, and came it not into his mind?

"So that Yahveh could no longer bear, because of the evil of your doings, and because of the abominations which ye have committed; therefore is your land a desolation, and an astonishment, and a curse, without an inhabitant, as at this day.

"Because ye have burned incense, and because ye have sinned against Yahveh, and have not obeyed the voice of the Lord, nor walked in his law, nor in his statutes, nor in his testimonies; therefore this evil is happened unto you, as at this day."

We may fairly assume that the Yahvists were not always in the majority; but they were filled with a zeal for monotheism, and represented an exceedingly active element, which was sure to cause trouble whenever there was the least infringement upon their iconoclastic rationalism. They were relentless when in power and willing to die for their convictions when antagonised, and it is this energy to which they owe their success and the survival of their faith.

But while we recognise their courage, we must not be blind to their shortcomings, which are typical of all religious fanatics. There were many among them who did not shrink from treason, like Jehu, nor from shedding innocent blood, like Elihu, who exterminated the Baal priests together with their wives and children.¹

The practice of weeping for Tammuz is described in the Bible as an un-Jewish custom, which is severely criticised by the prophet Ezekiel; but it is noteworthy to see the persistence with which the Jews clung to these rites in spite of the repeated reforms of zealous kings and the curses pronounced by the prophets of Yahveh.

We here reproduce the famous passage of Ezekiel from Professor Toy's new translation of the *Polychrome Bible*:

"In the sixth year, in the sixth month, on the fifth day of the month, as I was sitting in my house, and the Elders of Judah were sitting with me,² the hand of the Lord, יהוה, fell on me there. And I saw, and lo, a form like that of a man,³ from what seemed his loins downward and upward, like fire, like the gleam of shining metal. And he stretched forth the form of a hand, and took me by a lock of my hair; and the spirit⁴ lifted me up between earth and heaven, and brought me, in visions of God, to Jerusalem, to the door of the north gateway of the inner court,⁵ where stood the image which provokes the just indignation of יהוה. And

¹ The story of Elijah is apparently a test of the genuineness of priesthood according to ancient notions, which is decided by the ability to make the sacrificial fire for the burnt offering without flint and steel, the then modern methods, or other help, but after the mysterious fashion of primitive man, by friction. The account knows nothing of the fire falling from heaven, as the later commentators interpret the passage.

² The old civil organization was preserved by the exiles. The Elders often visited the Prophet, whose official position they respected, to ask if he had any word from יהוה. On this occasion he falls into the ecstatic state in their presence.

³ See i. 26, 27, in accordance with which we may here read, following the Greek Bible, a *man* (Heb. *ish*) instead of *fire* (Heb. *esh*) in the Received Text.

⁴ A divine energy took possession of him; this is the Prophet's standing expression for the visional state. The *spirit* is a supernatural being, a member of יהוה's heavenly court, acting as God's agent in affecting men's minds and bodies (1 Kings xxii. 21, 24; 1 Sam. x. 6; 2 Sam. xxiii. 2; Is. lxi. 1, *al.*). Ecstasy was at first the ordinary condition of prophetic utterance (1 Sam. xix. 24; Mic. i. 8); it was gradually dispensed with, as prophecy became reflective and moral, and in Ezekiel it seems to be chiefly literary form.

⁵ In the gateways of the inner court the vestibules faced outward and the doors inward; thus the Prophet stood within the inner court, and, looking through

lo, there was the Glory of the God of Israel, like the vision which I saw in the valley.

"And He said to me: Son of man, turn thine eyes northward! I turned mine eyes northward, and beheld, north of the altar-gate, at the entrance, that image which provokes His indignation. He said to me: Son of man, seest thou what they are doing, the great abominations the House of Israel are here practicing, so that I must leave my sanctuary? Thou shalt see yet greater abominations. And He brought me to the door of the court, and I looked, and lo, a hole in the wall. He said to me: Son of man, dig into the wall. I dug into the wall, and beheld a door. And He said to me: Enter, and see the wicked abominations which they are here practicing. I entered and looked, and lo, every form of reptile and beast, all manner of abominations, and all the idols of the House of Israel were portrayed on the wall round about. And seventy men, of the Elders of the House of Israel, one of whom was Jaazaniah ben-Shaphan,¹ were standing before them, every man with a censer in his hand, and the odor of the cloud of incense ascended. He said to me: Seest thou, son of man, what the Elders of the House of Israel are doing in secret, every one in his chamber filled with pictures? They think, JHVH does not see us, JHVH has left the land.² And He said to me: Thou shalt see yet greater abominations which they are practicing. And He brought me to the door of the north gateway³ of the house of JHVH, and behold, there were sitting the women, weeping for Tammuz. And He said to me: Seest thou, son of man? thou shalt see yet greater abominations than these. And He brought me into the inner court of the house of JHVH, and behold, at the very door of the Temple of JHVH, between the porch and the altar, were about twenty-five men, with their backs to the Temple of JHVH and their faces to the East, and they were worshipping the Sun in the East!⁴

"And He said to me: Seest thou, son of man? Is it too slight a thing for the House of Judah to practice the abominations which they are here practicing but they must fill the land with violence, and still further provoke me to anger? Behold,

the gateway, could see the image, which stood in the outer court near the entrance of the gateway.

¹ Jaazaniah was perhaps connected with the men mentioned in 2 Kings xxii. 10; Jer. xxxvi. 10; xxxix. 14, in any case a prominent man.

² The Elders could hardly have believed that JHVH had really left the land (they no doubt held that He was inseparably attached to it), but they acted as if they so believed; cf. Psalm x. 11; Is. xxix. 15, and note on Ez. ix. 9.

³ The *outer gate*. The door was on the outside (xl. 22), so that the women sat outside the enclosure of the Temple.

⁴ Sun-worship was probably borrowed from Assyria; of its details in Jerusalem we know nothing; see 2 Kings xxiii. 5, 11. The persistence of these foreign cults among the Jews (the Prophet speaks apparently of his own time) after the reform of Josiah (621 B. C.) is noteworthy.

they are sending a stench to my nostrils!¹ But I, too, will act with fury! I will not show compassion, I will not have pity! With a loud voice shall they cry in my hearing and I will not hear them!"



WORSHIPPERS OF ADONIS HOLDING FLOWERS TO THEIR NOSES.²



BABYLONIAN RELIEF FROM NIMROD.³



IMAGE OF ASTARTE.²

¹ The Hebrew has: *they are stretching out* (literally, *sending*) *the branch to their nose*. This is commonly explained as a ritual procedure, as in certain Cyprian pictures (Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, pp. 137 ff.), in which the worshippers (or deities) hold flowers to their noses; according to Spiegel (*Eranische Alterthumskunde*, III., 571) a similar ceremony existed among the Persians. The flower or branch would be in this case a symbol of the deity, derived from tree-worship (cf. note 10 on c. vi.). Our illustration is from the edge of a bronze dish (found at Idalium) representing women dancing before a goddess seated on a throne, with a sacrificial table. But there are serious difficulties in the way of this interpretation of our passage. The Hebrew verb can hardly be rendered *putting* (or, *holding*); it means *sending*. Moreover, the connection requires an expression of anger or disgust on JHVH's part, parallel to *they provoke me to anger*; and it is not likely that the Prophet, after finishing his account of the idolatries, and beginning his denunciation, would go back and introduce a single feature of idolatrous ritual. Adopting the old Jewish reading *my nose* (or *nostrils*), and rendering *zemordh* by *stench* instead of *branch* (or, changing it to *zordh*, Num. xi. 20, *loathing*, a *loathsome thing*), we have an expression that fits well into the context. Cf. Is. lxxv. 5; Amos iv. 10. The signification *crepitus ventris* and then *bad odor* is given to *zemordh* by Rabbinical expositors (Kimchi, Rashi); Hor. *Sat.* i. IX. 70.

² Polychrome Bible, Ezekiel, pp. 110-113.

³ Illustrating a spring festival celebrated with sacred sprigs. After Layard.

The passage is of importance, and as the *Polychrome Bible* cannot as yet be supposed to be in everybody's hands, we deem it advisable to make the quotation complete by adding to this passage Professor Toy's comments:

"The image that aroused JHVH's indignation was still standing where it had formerly stood (v. 3). It was, perhaps, an Asherah-image such as that which Manasseh (B. C. 690-643) set up in the enclosure of the Temple (2 Kings xxi. 7); if this was destroyed by Josiah (B. C. 623; cf. 2 Kings xxiii. 4), another may have been set up after his death. The name *image of* (that is, which provokes His just) *indignation* (AV, *image of jealousy*), is given to this particular idol apparently because it stood openly at the altar-gate, usurping the rights of the God of Israel, and forcing Him to leave His sanctuary (v. 6). The precise nature of the worship connected with it is unknown. The cult of the Phœnician Asherah is illustrated



TERRA-COTTA OBJECTS, FOUND IN CYPRUS.¹

by a number of terra-cotta objects excavated in Cyprus. The figure here given (height $7\frac{1}{8}$ in.) is probably as early as Ezekiel.² As to the following four illustrations, the first two represent the front and back of a Terra-cotta Cone (probably used as a censer). We see, in front, Astarte in a niche, and, on the back of the cone, the doves of Asherah, the holes representing openings of the sacred dove-cote. The third object is a Terra-cotta Pillar of Asherah (height $12\frac{1}{2}$ in.) excavated in Cyprus and now in the Royal Museum, Berlin. Finally we have a terra-cotta idol of a Sacred Tree, from the sanctuary of Asherah (Aphrodite) at Chytroi, Cyprus. This object was originally fastened to a flat, circular terra-cotta base. The two cuts (which may serve as illustrations of one form of Western-Asiatic

¹ Polychrome Bible, Ezekiel, pp. 110-113.

² See page 526, "The Image of Astarte."

Semitic worship of the seventh and sixth centuries B. C.) represent a terra-cotta vessel (probably a brazier or censer), in shape of a ring-dance, and a Sacred Ring-Dance as performed at religious festivals. Three bearded men are apparently dancing around a flute-player (the figure of the third dancer is broken off). This was probably a votive offering (height 5½ in.). These Cypriote objects are perhaps all of Ezekiel's time.

"The *reptiles and beasts* probably represented forms of old-Israelitish worship (*cf.* 2 Kings xviii. 4); a borrowing of Egyptian cults is improbable, and there is no trace of such worship (except snake-cult) in the contemporary Phœnician remains. The Greek Bible omits these two terms, but the connection suggests some-



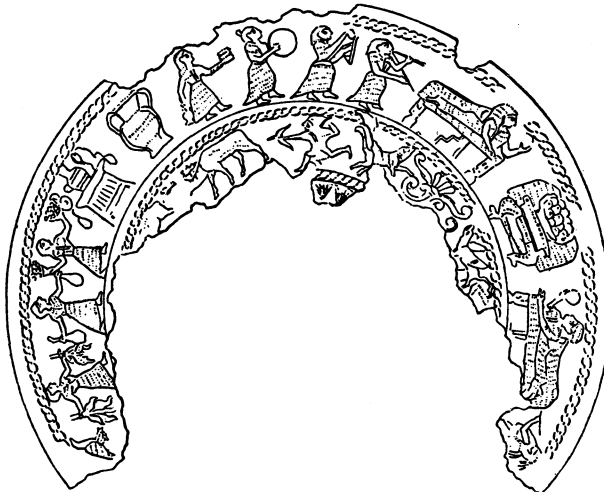
RING DANCES.¹

thing mysterious, mystic cults like those of Is. lxx. 3-5, secret services to which only the initiated were admitted.

"Tammuz is the Babylonian *Dumuzi* (Du'ûzu), perhaps originally the spirit, or god, of grain, whose annual death and resurrection were celebrated in popular festivals (*cf.* FRAZER, *The Golden Bough*, I., 278). In Syria and Phœnicia similar rites were performed in honor of a spirit or deity who was termed *The Lord* (Phœn. *Adôn*, Greek *Adónis*; see Lucian, *De Syria dea*). The illustration on page 529 (from a silver dish of Curium, on the southern coast of Cyprus, and now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York) represents Adonis, with an apple, and Astarte, on couches, facing a sacred table, a procession of musicians, and a

¹ Polychrome Bible, Ezekiel, pp. 110-113.

procession of worshipers bearing gifts to a sacred table (*cf. Am. Journal of Archaeology*, 1888, pl. vii.). The woman behind the musicians carries in her right hand an amphora, and in her left a 'garden of Adonis.' The Israelites seem to have borrowed this cult in the seventh century from Assyria; they may possibly, however, have got it earlier from the Phoenicians (see Is. xvii. 10). In later times the festival contained licentious features; whether or not these obtained in Ezekiel's day is uncertain; to him this cult is abhorrent because it is not worship of JHVH. The mythical interpretations of the rites connected Tammuz with Ishtar (see *Records of the Past*, I., 143: IX., 127; *cf. Jastrow, Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, Boston, 1898, pp. 482, 564, 574, etc.), and Adonis with Astarte (and so with Aphrodite).



WORSHIP OF ADONIS. SILVER DISH OF CURIUM.¹

The Adonis cult is described in Isaiah xvii. 9-11, which in Professor Cheyne's translation reads as follows:

"In that day shall thy cities be deserted
Like the deserted places of the Hivites and Amorites,
Because thou hast forgotten the God of thy safety,
And the Rock that is thy bulwark thou hast not remembered.
Therefore, though thou plantest little gardens with shoots for Adonis,
And stockest them with scions dedicated to a foreign god,
Even though as soon as thou plantest them, thou fencest them in,
And early bringest thy shoots to blossom,
Therefore the harvest shall vanish in a day of sickness and desperate pain."

¹ Polychrome Bible, Ezekiel, pp. 110-113.

Professor Cheyne adds the following comment to his translation :

"The worship of Adonis or Tammuz, with whom Naaman (the name used for this god by Isaiah) may be identified, was of Assyrian origin, but also prevalent in Phoenicia and in Syria (*cf.* the proper name Naaman, 2 Kings v. 1). We even find some traces of its existence in Palestine; see, besides several doubtful passages, Ezek. viii. 17, and compare names such as *Naaman*, the name of a Benjamite clan (Gen. xvi. 21, and elsewhere), and *Numāna* and *Nāmāna* among the names of places in Southern Palestine conquered by Thothmes III. (see the list on the walls of his temple at Karnack). The two latter names suggest that the worship of Naaman or Adonis was traditional in certain places in Southern Palestine, and upon occasion may have sprung into fresh life (*cf.* Is. ii. 6). In Northern Palestine, of course, such a revival of the worship of Adonis was still easier, and an occasion for it had arisen when Isaiah wrote. At a somewhat earlier period it might have been natural for the Northern Israelites to seek the favor of Assyrian deities. Since then, however, political circumstances had changed, and the Northern Israelites had a good hope that, with the help of Syria, they might hold their own against Assyria. Once more, therefore, they *forgot* JHVH, and devoted themselves to an alien cultus, and this time to that of a Syrian deity, Naaman or Adonis. The *Shoots of Adonis* (Naaman) remind us of the so-called *Gardens of Adonis*, of which there is evidence at Alexandria, at Athens, and, as we might expect, in Cyprus, and which may be presumed to have been coextensive with the worship of that favorite deity; and the fact that from verse 10 onwards Isaiah addresses Israel as a woman may be explained by the prominent part taken by women in these observances. The "gardens of Adonis" (which



CYPRIAN WOMAN, CARRYING
THE "GARDEN OF ADONIS."¹

were planted by women) consisted of baskets of earth, sown with various plants, which quickly shot up, and as quickly withered in the sun. This was a symbolical representation of the fate of *Tammuz yearly wounded* (Milton); and some idea of the importance attached to it may be gained from the procession on the evening of Good Friday, still customary in Cyprus. Just as the *gardens of Adonis* were placed round the bier of the dead Adonis, so the bier on which the figure of the dead Christ is placed, is decorated with the modern equivalent of the *gardens of Adonis* (Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kyp-ros*, pp. 132 f.). The prophet Isaiah seems to have extracted from this custom an omen of the speedy fall of the Northern Kingdom."

¹ Polychrome Bible, Ezekiel, p. 146.

THE SONG OF THE WELL.

The old Testament, we must remember, is not the entire literature of Israel, but a fraction only, and this fraction is not preserved in its original form but in a revision made by priestly redactors for the purposes of serving as a devotional manual. Everything which did not serve this end was discarded and we owe it to the oversight and carelessness of the redactors, sometimes to a misinterpretation of the meaning of the text, if now and then some other relic has peradventure been preserved. The most important and most interesting folk-poetry preserved in the Bible is the Song of Songs, a collection of love-songs and bridal-hymns, some of which are so shockingly sensual that it is astonishing how they could have been received in the canon, but others are so beautiful that they belong to the very best productions of erotic literature. Take for instance these lines :

“Set me as a seal upon thy heart as a seal upon thine arm :
 For love is strong as death jealousy is cruel as the grave :
 The coals thereof are coals of fire which hath a most vehement flame.”

Prof. Karl Budde has succeeded by a marvellously keen text-criticism of the passage in Numbers xxi. 14-18, in restoring “the song of the well” quoted from the *Book of the Wars of Yahveh*. He assumes that it was a part of the ritual of declaring one’s ownership of a well, and the whole stanza reads thus :

“Spring up, O well, Sing ye to it :
 Thou well, dug by princes, sunk by the nobles of the people,
 With the scepter, with their staves : Out of the desert a gift !”

Professor Budde, speaking of the nomadic habits of the patriarchs and the desert life in the steppe of Southern Judah, says :¹

“Springs are there the most precious possessions, without which one cannot live, as Achsah, Caleb’s daughter, declares (Judges i. 15 ; Joshua xv. 19). Men dig for them zealously, and if one is found, as by Isaac’s servants (Genesis xxvi. 19 ff.), the finder is rightly the owner. But the precious possession is also a cause of strife and danger ; men contend for it as for movable goods (Genesis xxvi. 20, 21) ; they take the well with violence (Genesis xxi. 25), and refuse the use of it to

¹ *The New World*, Vol. IV., No. XIII., pp. 136-144.

the rightful owner. Thus wells become a subject of law. There is needed a solemn, as it were original, determination of the ownership; in case of need this is assured through a solemn oath and covenant among the neighbors and contestants: Abraham does so with Abimelech (Genesis xxi. 30 f.). Before the law, it is not the servants who have dug the well, but their lord, the tribe-father, Abraham (Genesis xxi. 30) or Isaac (xxvi. 22). Even where strife and rivalry have not occurred, they may arise in the future. The same well may be found more than once and be claimed in good faith by the later finder, or to the first real finder dishonest persons may oppose the claim that they discovered this well long since, so that it belongs to them. Then witnesses are demanded, since written deeds are not known to the nomad, and in order to have many of these witnesses and impress the facts inextinguishably on the memory, the clan is called together immediately after the finding, and the ownership of the well is solemnly declared. This takes the form of a symbolic act. The head, or heads, of the clan take their stand with the sign of their rank, the sceptre-like staff in hand, the same emblem as with the Homeric princes; and in order that the testimony—"Sheikh Abraham, Sheikh Isaac, has dug this well"—may receive full and proper expression, they go through, symbolically, the act of digging with their staves.

"We hardly go too far if we assume that with this end in view, the well, after being found and dug, was lightly covered over or stopped up, so that the sceptres of the sheikhs could remove the obstruction, and thus they became implements for digging. It is a symbolic act, such as is still practiced with us, at the laying of the corner-stone or capstone of a building, in the first spade stroke for a canal, or the last stroke in cutting a tunnel, or even the handful of earth thrown on the coffin of a relative or friend. This, then, is the course of things which we may infer from the few lines of our song, after being enlightened by the events related in the history of the patriarchs."

The song of the well must be very ancient, for, says Budde:

"In our song the new giver of life is greeted as a highly welcome guest, as a living personality. This certainly takes us back to primitive times when all life, especially in the desert, was revered as divine, and every spring and every green tree was the seat of a divine being to whom men owed thanks and whom men took pains to make friendly."

There is no need of entering into the details of Professor Budde's lucubrations, which consist in explaining words, one of which, "Mattanah" (i. e., gift), was wrongly interpreted as a name. Budde is right in his claim:

"We have succeeded in so supplementing a beautiful little folk-song that we may now regard it as complete. This has been done without adding a word, or even a letter, to the received text, or taking one away."

THE ROMANCE OF MORDECAI.

The latest importation of ancient mythological lore into the Bible is the book Esther which was presumably written at the period of the Maccabees, either shortly before or shortly after their final victory. We must assume that the Jews living in Babylonia, though remaining faithful to their religion, formed the habit of celebrating their festivals, and the feast Purim is nothing else than the celebration of Marduk's victory over Tiamat. The name of the festival is foreign, and Purim is twice explained to mean lots (chaps. iii. 7, and ix. 24). Professor Zimmern derives it from *puhru*, assembly, viz., the assembly of the gods convened for the purpose of deciding the destinies or lots of people. The name Marduk was changed to Mordecai. Mordaka would mean in Babylonian "the man belonging to Marduk," or perhaps "the man representing Marduk at the feast of Marduk." The name of the goddess Istar was changed to Esther; and the evil-monger of the story, Haman, must most likely be identified with the Elamite deity Hamman. Haman's wife in the Hebrew story is called Zeresh, and the consort of the god Hamman is Kirisha. The book of Maccabees mentions "the Mordecai day" as being celebrated on the fourteenth day of the twelfth month, and we cannot doubt that this is but another name for Purim. The style of the book is apologetical and proves that the feast had to struggle for recognition. Apparently there were some orthodox people who did not observe the day, and the author of the book Esther purposed to establish its title to a national holy-day. To treat the book as history betrays a childlike *naïveté*. It is a romance, a humanised myth. Though the moral tone of the book is by no means elevated, it ranges high if judged purely on its merits as a piece of literary composition.¹

The critical earnestness and iconoclasm of the Jewish redactor, however, found its reaction in the age of Christianity; in fact, Christianity may be regarded as the reassertion of elements that

¹ An excellent summary of the Biblical text-criticism of the book Esther has been given by Prof. C. H. Toy in his article "Esther as Babylonian Goddess," *The New World*, Vol. VII., pp. 130-144.

are older than Judaism; and when we compare the story of Christ with the Marduk myth and other pagan stories of world-saviours, we shall discover a remarkable resemblance and cannot help thinking that we are here confronted with the reassertion of that Christianity which existed before Christ. The well-known sentiment of Augustine, who says that Christianity is not a new-fangled doctrine, but existed from the beginning of the world, is, in this sense, founded more deeply on fact than some Christians of these later days believe.

The rationalistic spirit of the Jews kept out of the Old Testament every belief in the immortality of the soul. The idea of a future life is neither combated nor asserted, but simply omitted—a fact which is the more strange as the surrounding peoples, especially those more civilised and more powerful than the Jews, the Phœnicians, the Egyptians, the Assyrians, and the Babylonians, including the ancient Accadians and Sumerians, did most emphatically believe in immortality. The omissions of these notions can be attributed only to the same reasons for which mythological elements have been discarded by the Hebrew redactors of Babylonian and Egyptian fairy-tales and myths.¹

In the two centuries preceding the Christian Era, the belief in immortality, however, began to assert itself in Judæa, if indeed it was ever entirely eradicated; but now it began to affect even the scribes and Pharisees. Since the priestly reform and during the days of the Babylonian captivity it was apparently limited to the illiterate and poor, being intimately connected with pagan rituals, such as the Tammuz festival, and superstitious practices of conjurers and witches. This sentiment is plainly expressed in Jesus Sirach xvii. 24–27, where we read:

“I hate idolatry [viz., ceremonies having reference to the dead or the state after death] with all earnestness: Who will praise the most High in Sheol?

“For all the living can praise, but the dead that are no longer cannot praise.

“Therefore praise the Lord whilst thou livest and are whole.”²

¹ For further details see “The Babylonian and Hebrew Views of Man's Fate After Death,” *The Open Court*, Vol. XV., No. 6.

² Similar passages occur in Psalms vi. 5; xxx. 9; lxxxviii. 11; cxv. 17, and Is. xxxviii. 18–19.

Ecclesiastes goes so far as to say that man hath no pre-eminence above a beast, and states in very strong and shockingly clear language the materialistic doctrine that he is dust and will return to dust.¹

The spirit of the Old Testament Apocrypha plainly reflects the tendency of a belief in resurrection. While they were written, the belief in immortality became closely associated with the growing hope for the appearance of a Messiah. And the Messiah was at once identified with the saviours who were so much praised and glorified by pagan priests. The Old Testament Apocrypha represent a stage of transition to the New Testament literature.

Zarathustra, the prophet of the Persians, preached a religion which proclaimed the coming of a saviour (Saoshyant), born of a virgin, and righteousness incarnate, who would establish a kingdom of God on earth; and the sacred books of the Persians proclaimed that then the dead would be resurrected, a great judgment would be held by the saviour, the bad would be condemned to the pit, while the good would inherit the earth and be clothed with transfigured bodies that cast no shadows. The daily prayer of the Persians was for the coming of the kingdom of God, which was conceived as a kind of Pentecost, or movement caused by the holy spirit of God. All these pre-Christian ideas reappear in Christianity, and the Persian belief is by no means isolated. The same keynote thrills through the stories of Greek saviours,—Hercules, Theseus, Orpheus, Bacchus, etc. The Trinity idea of Christianity is in a pagan fashion anticipated in the Egyptian and other religions. The Egyptian Osiris, Isis, and Hor form a trinity. The god is slain by Set, the powerful principle of evil, but he is resurrected in Harpocrates, which means "Hor the Son," who avenges his father, and is worshipped as an incarnation of his divine father. The same idea underlies not only the myth of the Syrian Atys, but also that of the Greek Adonis, who is none other than the Phœnician Adon,² which means "the Lord," being a conception which celebrates the dying and rejuvenated God. And the Phœnician Adon again is only another version of the Babylonian myth of Tammuz, the god that dies and is resurrected.

EDITOR.

¹ Ecclesiastes iii. 18-20.

² The Hebrew *adonai*, "my Lord," which designates God, is the same word as the Phœnician *Adon* and the Greek *Adonis*.